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1962/10/27

FM WAS C OCT27/62 SECRET
TO EXTERNAL 3166 OPIMMED
INFO LDN CANDELNY NATOPARIS EMBPARIS

BAG MOSCOW FM LDN

BAG HAVANA FM OTT

REF YOURTEL XL106 OCT25

CUBA

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| To: | Mr. Rusk |
| | OCT 29 1962 |

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I CALLED ON THE SEC OF STATE ON OCT26 TO DISCUSS YOUR REFTEL WITH HIM. HE HAD WITH HIM HURWITZ, SPECIAL ASST TO THE ASST SEC FOR INTER AMERICAN AFFAIRS, AND CARLSON OF THE CDN DESK. ROBINSON ACCOMPANIED ME. THE SEC BEGAN THE CONVERSATION BY EXPRESSING HIS THANKS FOR THE PRIME MINISTERS SPEECH OF OCT25. (INCIDENTALLY, ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY, WHOM I SAW YESTERDAY ON ANOTHER QUESTION, ALSO EXPRESSED WARM APPRECIATION FOR THE PRIME MINISTERS SPEECH.) I THEN DREW TO THE SECS ATTENTION THE GOVTS DECISION TO SEARCH SOVIET BLOC AND CUBANA AIRCRAFT EN ROUTE TO CUBA AND REMARKED THAT THE AMERICAN PRESS HAD NOT RPT NOT APPRECIATED THE SCOPE OF CDAS EFFORT. (TODAYS WASHDC POST CONTAINS A MOST APPRECIATIVE LEADING ARTICLE ON THE PRIME MINISTERS SPEECH, THE TEXT OF WHICH I AM SENDING YOU SEPARATELY.)

2. I THEN SHOWED MR RUSK YOUR REFTEL. HIS FIRST REACTION WAS TO SAY THAT THE STATE DEPT HAD BEEN RECEIVING SIMILAR INDICATIONS FROM OTHER CAPITALS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE CUBAN GOVT WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH THE USA THROUGH THE UN. HE THOUGHT THAT FURTHER LIGHT WOULD BE SHED ON THIS LATER IN THE AFTERNOON WHEN MR STEVENSON WOULD BE SEEING U THANT.

3. THE SEC DREW ATTENTION TO AN EARLIER SPEECH BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN WHICH THE LATTER HAD MARKED OUT TWO POINTS WHICH WERE NOT RPT NOT NEGOTIABLE: (A) THE CUBAN GOVTS MILITARY CONNECTION WITH MOSCOW AND (B) COMMUNIST PENETRATION FROM CUBA INTO THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

4. MR RUSK WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN URGING CALM UNTIL THE DISCOVERY OF THE SUDDEN MISSILE BUILD UP IN CUBA, WHICH

POSED .. GRAVE STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL THREAT WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN JUST AS IMPORTANT NO RPT NO MATTER IN WHAT COUNTRY IT HAD ARISEN.HE THOUGHT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THE CUBANS WERE NOW BECOMING MORE REALISTIC ABOUT THE SITUATION IN WHICH THEY FOUND THEMSELVES.

5.THE CONVERSATION THEN TURNED TO PAR4 OF YOUR REFTEL IN WHICH THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE TERMS ON WHICH THE CUBAN GOVT MIGHT BE PREPARED TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE USA.THE SEC SAID THAT A SIMILAR COMBINATION OF ELEMENTS SEEMED TO BE APPEARING IN U THANTS MIND.MR RUSK SAID THAT NO RPT NO PROBLEM WOULD ARISE IF THE CUBANS COULD FIND A WAY TO GET RID OF THE MISSILES,AND WENT ON TO SAY THAT "IF THE WITHHOLDING OF INVASION BECOMES A REQUIREMENT FOR GETTING THE MISSILES OUT OF CUBA,THAT IS NO RPT NO PROBLEM UNQUOTE.BEFORE SAYING THIS HE CAUTIONED AGAINST OUR TAKING THIS AS A PRECISE FORMULATION OF THE USA POSITION BUT THE SENSE OF HIS STATEMENT APPEARED TO BE THAT IF THE CUBANS WOULD ELIMINATE THE NUCLEAR MISSILE BASES,THE USA WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE FORCED TO THINK IN TERMS OF FURTHER UNILATERAL ACTION.

6.RETURNING TO THE DISCUSSION OF YOUR REFTEL,MR RUSK SAID THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME ADVANTAGE IN ATTEMPTING TO PROBE THE ACTUAL CUBAN POSITION THROUGH THE CDN AMBASSADOR IN HAVANA.HE WONDERED IF ANY OPPORTUNITY AROSE FOR MR KIDD TO SEE CASTRO ALONE AND SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME SOCIAL OCCASION.HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT ONE COULD NOT RPT NOT ALWAYS BE CERTAIN THAT CASTRO WAS A TOTAL INSTRUMENT OF MOSCOW(ALTHOUGH HE CHARACTERIZED THIS AS A CHANCE IN A THOUSAND). HE SAID FOR EXAMPLE THAT ON THE ISSUE OF PRISONERS THE USA HAD INFO THAT QUOTE THE BEARDED ONES UNQUOTE HAD TAKEN A DIFFERENT POSITION FROM THE QUOTE COMMUNIST APPARATUS UNQUOTE.THE FORMER HAD BEEN ATTRACTED BY THE POSSIBILITY OF SECURING DRUGS AND OTHER COMMODITIES IN RETURN FOR THE PRISONERS WHEREAS THE COMMUNIST APPARATUS HAD OPPOSED RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS.HE SAID IT WOULD PERHAPS BE UNWISE TO ASSUME CATEGORICALLY THAT CASTRO WOULD ALWAYS

REACT IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO THE MOSCOW LINE, BUT HIS TONE IMPLIED SKEPTICISM AS TO THE LIKELIHOOD OF THE CUBANS ACTING INDEPENDENTLY ON MAJOR ISSUES.

7. HURWITCH THEN INTERVENED TO SAY THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF MR KIDD COULD DO SOME PROBING IN HAVANA. THE SEC REACTED TO THIS BY SAYING THAT CASTRO MIGHT USEFULLY BE TOLD THAT HE WAS ON A LOSING WICKET AND THAT THE REAL QUESTION WAS THE ELIMINATION OF THE MISSILE BASES.

8. I THEN ASKED MR RUSK HOW HE THOUGHT MATTERS WOULD DEVELOP IN THE UN. HE REPLIED THAT HE FORESAW THAT ALL FORMAL ACTION WOULD BE IN ABEYANCE PENDING U THANTS DISCUSSIONS. HE REMARKED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT HE HOPED THAT U THANT WOULD SEE THE CUBANS SEPARATELY FROM THE RUSSIANS. I THEN RECALLED MY CONVERSATION WITH HARLAN CLEVELAND (MYTEL 3092 OCT23) IN WHICH I HAD EXPLAINED THE PURPOSE OF THE STATEMENT MADE EARLIER IN THE WEEK BY THE PRIME MINISTER REGARDING THE POSSIBILITY OF A UN FACT FINDING TEAM PROCEEDING TO CUBA. I SAID THAT ASSUMING THAT UN SUPERVISION OF THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE MISSILE BASES WAS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE USA APPROACH, I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO FORESEE A STAGE IN WHICH THE QUOTE FACT FINDING UNQUOTE ELEMENT MIGHT MERGE WITH THE UN SUPERVISION OF DISMANTLEMENT. I POINTED OUT THAT ZORIN IN HIS STATEMENT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON OCT25 HAD DENIED THE AUTHENTICITY OF USA EVIDENCE REGARDING THE EXISTENCE OF THE MISSILE BASES. I SAID THAT I THOUGHT A PROPOSAL WHICH GAVE THE UN SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ESTABLISHING THE FACTS FOR THEMSELVES, PERHAPS IN CONJUNCTION WITH A SUPERVISORY ROLE OVER THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE BASES, MIGHT HAVE A GREATER APPEAL FOR MANY MEMBER COUNTRIES IN THE UN. MR RUSK REPLIED THAT THE USA HAD NOT YET BEEN ATTRACTED BY A FACT FINDING MISSION AS A FIRST AND PRELIMINARY STEP. TWO WEEKS OF FACT FINDING, MR RUSK SAID, COULD ONLY RESULT IN WHAT HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE PUBLIC IN PHOTOGRAPHS. AFTER RE EMPHASIZING THAT

THE CL GOVT WAS NOT RPT NOT CONSIDERING THE INTRODUCTION IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF A PROPOSAL FOR A FACT FINDING MISSION , I REMARKED THAT MUCH DEPENDED ON THE TIMING INVOLVED IN UN PROCESSES.

MR RUSK REPLIED THAT FROM USA POINT OF VIEW THE UN OPERATION HAD TO WORK VERY FAST. IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO GET UN REPS ONTO THE SITES AND TO KEEP THE SITES NON OPERATIONAL, AND THIS MUST BE DONE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IT APPEARED TO ME THAT THE SEC WAS NOT RPT NOT MUCH CONCERNED WITH FURTHER STEPS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OR THE UNGA BUT WAS CONCENTRATING HIS ATTENTION ON THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH U THANT WHICH SHOULD, IN HIS VIEW, RESULT IN THE VERY EARLIEST DESP OF A UN TEAM TO SUPERVISE THE ACTUAL DISMANTLEMENT OF THE BASES.

9. REVERTING TO THE EVIDENCE OF THE EXISTENCE OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS IN CUBA, MR RUSK SAID THAT WHILE THE USSR WAS NOW DENYING THEIR EXISTENCE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL QUOTE WE WERE TOLD BY THE RUSSIANS THAT THERE ARE NOT RPT NOT NOW IN CUBA AND WILL NOT RPT NOT BE MISSILES THAT CAN REACH USA UNQUOTE. HE ASKED ME SPECIFICALLY TO PASS ON TO YOU THIS SOVIET STATEMENT. HE DID NOT RPT NOT SPECIFY WHETHER IT HAD BEEN MADE BY FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO TO THE PRESIDENT OR BY THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HERE.

10. I DID NOT RPT NOT GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SEC OF STATE WAS MUCH INTERESTED IN THE POSSIBILITY OF EXCHANGES WITH THE CUBANS PROVING FRUITFUL IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. HIS REFS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR AMBASSADOR IN HAVANA PROBING CUBAN VIEWS WERE NOT RPT NOT AT ALL EMPHATIC OR PRECISE. HE KEPT REVERTING TO THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY FOR THE EARLIEST DESTRUCTION OF THE MISSILE BASES AND SEEMED TO PLACE ALL HIS EMPHASIS ON THE U THANT NEGOTIATIONS IN NY. FAILING A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, I WAS LEFT WITH THE STRONG IMPRESSION THAT THE USA WOULD BE FACED WITH THE EARLY ALTERNATIVE OF TAKING ACTION ON THEIR OWN.

11. PRIOR TO OUR CONVERSATION WITH MR RUSK, HURWITZ SPOKE TO ME

PAGE 1 E 3166

WITH SOME INTEREST OF THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING A QUOTE
NUCLEAR FREE ZONE UNQUOTE IN LATINAMERICA

RITCHIE